

Message Text

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EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADORS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, PDEV, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT

LAGOS ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S DELEGATION, MOOSE AND
PETTERSON

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FOR YOUR INFORMATION, THE FOLLOWING IS THE AGREED U.S.-
U.K. STATEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS.
THIS TEXT DIFFERS FROM EARLIER VERSIONS BY ITS AMENDMENT
TO PARAGRAPH ELEVEN A AND THE INCLUSION OF A NEW PARA-
GRAPH: ELEVEN E. OLD 11E IS NOW ELEVEN F. INFO
ADDRESSEES WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN INSTRUCTED TO PRESENT
DOCUMENT TO HOST GOVERNMENTS SHOULD TAKE NO REPEAT NO
ACTION TO CORRECT DELIVERED TEXT AT THIS TIME.

RHODESIA: PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT

1. ON 10 MARCH 1977 THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER ON A JOINT PEACE INITIATIVE TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. THE OBJECTIVE WAS AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

2. TO SUCCEED, ANY SETTLEMENT MUST COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF THOSE PEOPLE OF GOODWILL OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS WHO INTEND TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS CITIZENS OF ZIMBABWE. AMONGST THESE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOW MANY CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF DEEP DISTRUST. THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS LED TO THE LOSS OF MANY LIVES AND TO MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING. THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN GRAVELY WEAKENED. BUT THERE IS SURELY ONE OVERRIDING COMMON INTEREST, THAT PEACE SHOULD BE RESTORED AND THAT GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

3. IN APRIL THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY TOURED THE AREA AND MET ALL THE PARTIES TO THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FIVE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA. HE SET OUT THE ELEMENTS CONFIDENTIAL

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WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, COULD IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMPRISE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, AS FOLLOWS:

(A) A CONSTITUTION FOR INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR

(1) A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WITH THE WIDEST POSSIBLE FRANCHISE:

(2) A BILL OF RIGHTS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE BILL WOULD BE QUOTE ENTRENCHED UNQUOTE SO THAT AMENDMENT OF IT WOULD BE MADE SUBJECT TO SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES AND IT WOULD GIVE THE RIGHT TO AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BELIEVED HIS RIGHTS WERE BEING INFRINGED TO SEEK REDRESS THROUGH THE COURTS:

(3) AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

(B) A TRANSITION PERIOD COVERING THE SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE PRESENT REGIME, THE INSTALLATION OF A NEUTRAL CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE, IN ADDITION TO ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY, WOULD BE THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PERIOD IT WAS ENVISAGED, WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY

CASE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY CONSTITUTED AND MANAGED DEVELOPMENT FUND (THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND).

4. FOLLOWING THAT TOUR, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE MET IN LONDON ON 6 MAY AND AGREED TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPOSALS. TO THIS END THEY ESTABLISHED A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP MET ALL THE PARTIES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN LONDON AND IN AFRICA AND CARRIED OUT DETAILED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. IN PARALLEL, THE GOVERNMENTS OF INTERESTED COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED GENERALLY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT, HAVE NOW DECIDED TO PUT FIRM PROPOSALS FORWARD, COVERING THE THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN DOING SO THEY EMPHASIZE THAT THE THREE ASPECTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF A SETTLEMENT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE. THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY, HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS A BALANCED AND FAIR PACKAGE IN WHICH, THOUGH NO ONE MAY ACHIEVE ALL HIS AIMS, EVERYONE CAN SEE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CONSTITUTION

6. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC. PROVISION WOULD BE MADE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE, FOR A SINGLE-CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES. DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE SET OUT AT ANNEX A TO THIS DOCUMENT. THE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TAKEN AS EXCLUDING ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH DO NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE CONSTITUTION: EG PROVISION IS MADE FOR AN CONFIDENTIAL

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EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT WITH A VICE-PRESIDENT, BUT THERE MIGHT INSTEAD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT AND A PRIME MINISTER, IN WHICH CASE MANY OF THE POWERS WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO VEST IN THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE

VESTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER OR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY
THE PRESIDENT ON THE ADVICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

7. DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE FORBIDDEN BY A BILL OF
RIGHTS PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS
DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3(A)(2)) THIS BILL OF RIGHTS
WOULD BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD BE
JUSTICIABLE SO THAT AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUALS COULD ENFORCE
THEIR RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS

WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO INTRODUCE
MEASURES OF LAND REFORM WHILE GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT
TO PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO
ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND AN INDEPENDENT
PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION TO ENSURE AN EFFICIENT AND
NON-POLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WOULD INHERIT THE
ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA
AND WOULD TAKE OVER PAST AND PRESENT PENSIONS OBLIGATIONS
IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, THE RIGHTS OF THE PENSIONERS
BEING GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION
WOULD CONTAIN THE BASIC PROVISIONS REGULATING ZIMBABWE
CITIZENSHIP AND THESE WOULD BE ENTRENCHED. THE QUESTION
WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE POSSESS-
ION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND IF SO, WHETHER THERE
SHOULD BE AN EXTENDED PERIOD DURING WHICH THE CHOICE
MUST BE MADE, WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION
WITH THE PARTIES.

9. THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON EXPRESSED
THE UNANIMOUS HOPE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SOON BECOME A
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MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
WILL DO EVERYTHING TO FACILITATE THIS.

THE TRANSITION

10. IT IS A BASIC PREMISE OF THE BRITISH AND US
GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME WILL
SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION
MAY BE INSTALLED PEACEFULLY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL
TAKE SUCH STEPS AS SEEM TO THEM APPROPRIATE TO SECURE
THE TRANSFER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH (OR HIS SUCCESSOR)
ON A DAY TO BE AGREED.

11. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE
SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE
CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE
TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE

LATTER WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AND

CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE, AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL ARMED FORCES IN RHODESIA, APART FROM THE UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE. (SEE BELOW)

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE WHOSE ROLE MAY INCLUDE: 1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE (SEE BELOW); 2) SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER; 3) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND WITH ALL THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES:

(E) THE FORMATION, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, OF A NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY WHICH WILL IN DUE COURSE REPLACE ALL EXISTING ARMED FORCES IN RHODESIA AND WILL BE THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE INDEPENDENT STATE OF ZIMBABWE;

(F) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF AN ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION, WITH THE ROLE OF CARRYING OUT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, THE DELIMITATION

OF CONSTITUENCIES AND THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL
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ELECTION FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. ON THE AGREED DAY ON WHICH POWER IS TRANSFERRED TO THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION (PARA 10 ABOVE), A CEASEFIRE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WITHIN RHODESIA AND

MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

12. AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B.

THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND

13. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS, WILL HAVE AS A TARGET A MINIMUM APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM RATHER LESS THAN ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS, TO WHICH GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS SECTORS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE, AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS, INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. THE OPERATIONS OF THE FUND WOULD HELP TO ENSURE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SETTLEMENT WILL NOT INHIBIT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE FOR LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THEREBY ALSO HELP TO REASSURE THOSE WHO MAY FEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ARE PREDICATED UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. A MORE
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DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSED FUND IS AT ANNEX C.

CONCLUSION:

14. THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THE ABOVE PROPOSALS PROVIDE FOR ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE SECURITY, BUT NOT PRIVILEGE, UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION, AND THE RIGHT TO BE GOVERNED BY A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER ARE CALCULATED TO ENSURE A QUICK, ORDERLY AND

PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAVE AGREED
TO USE THEIR JOINT INFLUENCE TO THE FULL TO PUT THE
PROPOSALS INTO EFFECT. BUT A LASTING SETTLEMENT
CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE: IT IS THE PEOPLE OF
ZIMBABWE WHO MUST ACHIEVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE.
THESE PROPOSALS OFFER THEM A WAY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS
URGE THEM TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. CHRISTOPHER

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